THE NEW REPUBLIC

The New Team At State

The Editors

If France Is Condemned

Jean Daniel

Growth and Government

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December 19, 1960, 25 cen

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Remember?

★ "My opponent fights the truth. When I was in Detroit the other day I saw one of these charges at its worst and I really mean its worst: 'US Facing Slump, Kennedy Declares' . . . Are we facing a slump? That's what he says. But you know better. . . . We will not have a recession . . . I assure you we will not have one under our policies." [Vice President Nixon, Syracuse, Nov. 1]

–The Labor Department announced one-third of the nation's 150 major industrial areas are now suffering substantial (*i.e.*, 6 percent or more) unemployment. [*New York Times*, Dec. 7.]

–"Jobless in January may reach 5.2 million." [S. L. Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor, testifying here.]

–"A battery of experts told the Joint Congressional Economic Committee today that the nation is in a 'mild recession' with no major improvement in sight. . . . The last six months have seen a pattern of slumping condition." [United Press International, Dec. 7.]

The fact is, as we've told you before, we have been in a recession for about six months. It may be "mild" as optimists hope; at this point nobody can say. Papers aren't playing the news up yet but they will, because the normal seasonal unemployment peak is in January-February. This means that anguished back-home demands to "do something" will strike the new Congress at its most sensitive point, just when it is getting the new Kennedy social welfare program. It will help pass the program.

Why are there so many revolutions in Latin America recently? In considerable degree because of the 1958 US recession. There is no "mild" recession for an underdeveloped country that suddenly sees US purchases of its raw materials slump as they did in 1958-59. Prices drop, people go hungry and they reach for the machete even while blundering Washington doles out more foreign aid. Most countries lost a lot more by slumping raw-material prices than they gained by years of foreign aid.

When you come to think of it, using gold as a basis for international exchange is absurd. Do you ever feel a bizarre, fairy-tale quality about those slippery, gleaming gold bars in Fort Knox, or 80 feet underground in the Federal Reserve Bank in New York? In the first place there isn't enough gold; the world supply doesn't keep up with the technical requirements of the nations for reserves. Again, it's primarily produced by racist South Africa and Communist Russia, who might have their own reasons for manipulating supply. Or again, we have done away with the key role of convertibility of dollars into gold at home. We are doing very well with a central bank handling the matter which makes an old-fashioned "run" on a bank inconceivable, yet it is just such a panicky international " run" that we are fearful of on our national gold reserve, though the US is the richest country on earth.

A Global Federal Reserve

★ Yale Economist Robert Triffin came and said these things in Washington last week. The current crisis isn't very serious, he thinks, but "clearly, the world cannot tolerate much longer an international monetary system," like the present, so utterly dependent on gold and on the accompanying use of dollar IOU's as monetary reserves. Makeshift devices for running the show may get us into serious trouble, he thinks. What we need is a financial system for the world like our Federal Reserve System at home. It shouldn't be too hard to establish. We have the big International Monetary Fund (IMF) already. Let it accept reserve deposits from its member central banks and give such deposits a guarantee that they could be cashed in gold or its equivalent. It sounds technical, but so did the Federal Reserve when Carter Glass and Woodrow Wilson set it up, December 23, 1913. The proposal, incidentally, has received the unanimous blessing in England of the Radcliffe Committee on the Working of the Monetary System.

Enterprising Conspirators

★ Last week 19 big electrical manufacturers, including GE and Westinghouse, pleaded "guilty" in federal court to criminal antitrust charges in the largest case ever filed by the government. It was one of the most disgraceful conspiracy plots of our times, not carried out by gangsters at Apalachin, New York, but by respectable men of business. The object was to mulct the government and the citizen by price rigging. If such a conviction had been pinned on a trade union all hell would have broken loose in the press, but since the violators came from The Establishment it is being handled gently. You may not even have read about it in your favorite paper. As reported some weeks ago in *The New Republic*, the government caught the conspirators dead to rights with a secret system of faking competitive bids by "phase-of-the-moon" bidding or collusive arrangements. As a result of the guilty pleas, some 44 executives, including four vice presidents of GE and three of Westinghouse, could get jail terms (they won't) and their companies face triple damage suits from any contractor who can prove loss.

Foxes and Watchdogs

★ In this episode the federal government was protecting you and me, as it generally is, and it was big business that was plotting against us. How much money has business spent to try to make us afraid of government!–the foxes buy advertising space every day to warn us against the watchdog.

Low ethics in American government are often deplored. We certainly are less pure here than in London. But ethics in government are held down by ethics in business. Political morals have slowly improved over 100 years since Daniel Webster, that swarthy Olympian, used to take lobbyists' fees as a matter of course. But to make Washington what it ought to be you have to raise the standards of American business first.

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The New Team at State

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It was a scene made for a playwright or a historian when the 20 distinguished Americans who make up the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation assembled for their annual meeting at the Williamsburg Inn on Monday, December 5. Nearly all of them were central actors in the protracted drama of the President-elect's selection of his Cabinet. Dean Rusk found himself, as President of the Foundation, addressing not only his good friends Chester Bowles and Douglas Dillon, who were at that moment also under active consideration for Cabinet posts, but several behind-the-scenes movers and shakers to whom Kennedy listens with respect – men such as Robert A. Lovett, who had himself been asked to serve as Secretary of Defense (and had refused because, it is said, of his ulcers); John D. Rockefeller III, Chairman of the Foundation Board; and publishers Orville E. Dryfoos *(New York Times)* and Benjamin McKelway *(Washington Star)*.

Mr. Rusk delivered what was, by all accounts, a searching analysis of the perilous nature of the next decade and the need for bold re-examination of US foreign policy and of the values of our domestic life. His remarks were nominally directed to the relatively narrow business at hand: he was appealing for expanded overseas Foundation grant programs equal to the urgency of the Sino-Soviet challenge, even if this meant dipping deep into capital. But those who listened were not thinking only of Foundation business, and Mr. Lovett, for one, is authoritatively reported to have plunked soon thereafter for Rusk as Secretary of State. As it happened, the President-elect met two days after Williamsburg with Dag Hammarskjold, on December 8, and Hammarskjold also had warm words for Rusk. Wherever Kennedy turned in those final hours preceding the climax of the drama, no one had a bad word to say about Rusk. By the end of the week the process of elimination practically guaranteed his appointment.

The choice of Dean Rusk, in our view, cannot evoke the thrill in this country and abroad that would have accompanied the designation of Bowles or Stevenson as Secretary – that symbolic promise of a new departure at a time when the US position is so rapidly eroding. Nevertheless, responsible opinion will not sell Mr. Rusk short. As this journal suggested in a November 14 discussion of possible appointees, he was the one man who appeared to offer a satisfactory alternative in the event that Bowles and Stevenson were bypassed. And what seems most important, he is now flanked by three exceptionally endowed subordinates with whom he can work harmoniously: Chester

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Bowles as Undersecretary of State, Adlai Stevenson as Ambassador to the United Nations, and Walt W. Rostow as likely Assistant Secretary for Policy Planning.

It is the intellectual common ground shared by these men – and the President-elect – which nourishes hope that US foreign policy will reflect a deeper awareness of the danger of doing too little too late, a finer sensitivity to the needs and ideas of others and a more realistic understanding of both the limits and possibilities of diplomacy. For though Mr. Rusk's precise views on all the many vexing international problems are not known to the world (or to Congress, which was one of his assets in Mr. Kennedy's evaluation), the line of his thinking and concerns parallels that of Bowles, Stevenson and Rostow. When Bowles was dropped as Ambassador to India by the Eisenhower Administration, it was Rusk, then newly-appointed as President of the Rockefeller Foundation, who brought him onto the Board of Trustees. Stevenson and Rusk are friends from the early postwar days when Adlai headed the US delegation to the UN preparatory conference in London and Rusk, back in Washington, was Director of the State Department Office supervising the mission.

As a foundation president Mr. Rusk has discreetly avoided on-the-record statements on highly controversial matters. This is not to say, however, that he is all calculation and no conviction, or that he is an administrative technician without ideas of his own. He is a man of intellectual breadth as well as operational skill. During his six years as Assistant Secretary under Dean Acheson he, like Bowles, was ahead of his time in his discernment of the "revolution of rising expectations" in the less-developed countries. It was largely his influence in the Department that prompted the only anti-colonialist diplomatic venture of the early postwar years – the Frank Graham mission leading to Indonesian independence from the Netherlands. Though it is commonplace today to speak of the inseparability of US influence abroad from our own racial problems, it was not so when, on November 15, 1950, Rusk concluded an address by saying that "in our relations with the Far East the greatest load we have to bear is the minority problems which exist here in this country. I am not referring now to the Negroes in the South only. I am referring to all minority problems throughout the country, because that beclouds the effect of our democratic presentation to Asia more than anything else, more than the propaganda of the enemy. . . ." And Mr. Rusk comes from Georgia. He carried his interest in the less-developed countries to his work at Rockefeller, not only in his appointment of Bowles but in annual budget proposals which have progressively stressed projects in Asia, Africa and Latin America (in 1961 the Foundation will spend a record $5 million out of capital and more than half of its grants out of income in the less-developed countries). In his 1958 "President's Review" to the Rockefeller Board, Rusk gave first priority to these countries, underscoring the importance of having "responsible leaders . . . succeed in achieving results significant enough to sustain the orderliness of economic growth. The objective is one which engages directly the self-interest of the economically more advanced peoples and calls for their understanding and practical assistance. It would be difficult to exaggerate the stake which the international community has in the pursuit of social and economic development through peaceful processes. . . ."

Dag Hammarskjold's personal endorsement may be attributable to the fact that Rusk throughout his years at Rockefeller has been one of the more knowing and sympathetic influential American friends of the UN. He has seen the potential of the world organization and the challenge to its effectiveness precisely in terms of the emergence to independence of former colonies. He has seen the UN, too, as a means for mobilizing a non-Communist coalition broad enough to outweigh and outwork the Sino-Soviet bloc. A 1955 paper on the UN (in *World Affairs Quarterly*) contained an unmistakable rebuke of the headline-grabbing of Ambassador Lodge. What counts, Rusk then wrote, is not how many votes are won but how many votes are cast *against* the US, how many abstentions and why: "Success in the conduct of our foreign affairs is to be measured not only in tally sheets, but by issues satisfactorily resolved, friendships consolidated, rivalries reduced or circumscribed." Rusk is said to favor a bigger and better-staffed US mission at the UN and more discriminating use of the world organization as a forum of ideas. And in this, he will be at one with Mr. Stevenson.

One of the more interesting aspects of the Rusk ascendancy at State is the central policy-making place given to Walt Rostow, whose original views on the whole range of US policy are, in a most unprecedented manner, spread on the record for all to see. Mr. Rostow is best known for his advocacy of massive aid to certain of the more promising less-developed countries, notably India and Pakistan, but his grasp of the total world scene has been documented in a series of books over the past decade: *The United States in the World Arena*, discussed in these pages last week, spells out a hopeful but sophisticated picture of a future in which US support for the development of strong non-Communist states might "leave no realistic alternative open to Moscow except to seek external security on collective terms." Forces within Soviet society, he maintains, "are now moving in directions which could with the passage of time make this choice increasingly easy for Russian leaders; and forces operating on the world scene which tend to the diffusion of power could be organized in such ways as to make this choice appear the residual

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rational alternative for Moscow."

In his one recent pronouncement concerning US-Soviet relations (*Foreign Affairs*, April, 1960), Rusk also, while emphasizing the superficiality of Summitry as a substitute for hard bargaining, could entertain the possibility "that significant changes are taking place in the direction of Soviet policy . . . that the frightfulness of modern war has made itself felt, that the severities of a police state have revealed their dead end and that public opinion is exerting a moderating influence upon Soviet policy by shifting its priorities. It may be that the Communist revolution is reaching the point which other revolutions have reached, where the dogma is enshrined but not very much is done about it. . . ."

This new team could be forgiven for thinking that it inherits nothing but trouble, that it is summoned to fight on its own 5-yard line, many spectators having walked out in despair at our fumbling. But there are even more who will rise to cheer the retirement of mediocrity and the return to the field of men who know how desperate things are – men of acute intelligence as well as courage who by training and temperament are partial to creative ideas and those who have them.

Economic Forecasts

Before America starts moving forward again, further economic backsliding may be expected, according to testimony before the Joint Economic Committee last week. Even the consumer was thought to be more hesitant than he – or she – has been at previous, similar rough periods to bail out the boat. On the other hand, none of the experts forecast stormier weather, only more of the same.

Douglas Greenwald of the McGraw-Hill Company, which makes some of the best studies of business intentions with regard to capital investment, suggested a decline in 1961, as compared with 1960, of at least three percent, and possibly as much as six percent, with manufacturing companies reducing their capital outlays by three percent, mining companies by nine percent, railroads by 24 percent. Since manufacturing companies are now operating at an average 79 percent of present capacity, a reluctance to expand is understandable.

Yet in 1958 Mr. Greenwald's organization estimated that an investment of $95 billion would be required to bring America's plant and equipment up to date. However, much of the capital investment that is made in 1961 will be put into facilities for the new products which current research and development have made possible – 12 percent of 1961 sales are expected to be of products newly on the market since 1957 – which means that obsolescence will apparently be accelerated in other sectors.

With respect to consumer capital investment in housing, Mr. Greenwald provided data showing that private residential building may go up by perhaps three percent next year, to some 1.3 million units; but as Committee Chairman Paul Douglas pointed out, that this would be well below the 1959 level of 1.5 million. Present population distribution points to a continued low rate of new family formation, and vacancy rates indicate that more housing is available now than in any recent period.

Inventory investment is expected to drop further – and perhaps sharply – in the first quarter of 1961. All in all, private investment in 1961 may run at around $67.2 billion as compared with $73.5 billion this year.

As for consumer expenditures, William W. Tongue of the Jewel Tea Company, while noting that the drop in consumer sales is perhaps past its low point, nevertheless stressed the current burden of consumer debt as a depressant. Mortgage debt on non-farm, one-to-four family properties at the end of June was 38.5 percent of the country's disposable income rate for the second quarter, and consumer credit stood at 15.2 percent of disposable income. These are higher percentages than at comparable stages of previous recessions. Overall, the expectation was for "a mild contraction, followed by a relatively sluggish rise which would leave the economy operating below capacity by the fourth quarter next year."

To these estimates of little growth in outlay, Peter Henle of the AFL-CIO added figures of inadequate growth in employment. As of October, 3.6 million persons were jobless and seeking work, and 2.5 million more were on involuntary short time. The major impact of present unemployment, moreover, is less on the marginal members of the labor force – women and young people – than on married men in their prime working years. Also, ever since the 1954 recession, the residue of joblessness which has lasted as the economy recovered has been greater with each cycle. And while the present labor force is partly unused, new entrants into the labor market will rise rapidly with war babies finishing their schooling. An additional 1.2 million job seekers are expected over the next 12 months.

If no economic expansion takes place and the Gross National Product stays at or near its present level of $503.5 billion, unemployment at the end of next year would stand at 10.9 percent. A growth rate of 7.2 percent would be required to bring the unemployment level down to 3.2 percent, the amount which represents unemployment due to people changing jobs, etc., with no durable hardship involved. A growth rate of 3.3 percent, which is better than the economy has been doing for the past several years and which would bring GNP up to $520 billion, would still leave an unemployment rate of 7.3 percent, or higher than this October's 6.4 percent level. And since the additions to the labor force

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in some of the other years of the 1960's will be materially higher than in 1961, these figures point to the gravity of the economic problem.

Earlier last week, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in its two-monthly survey of employment in 150 major industrial centers, moved nine more areas into the group regarded as having a substantial labor surplus – upward of six percent unemployed, bringing the total of such areas to 51, or one in three for the country as a whole. The President-elect has asked for a review of the Depressed Areas Bill, with Senator Douglas as Chairman and Mike Feldman as Secretary of a committee to get a new version into shape for prompt presentation to Congress. But the resumption of economic growth must include the economy as a whole, not just those parts of it which have been in trouble for a long while. Unused capacity exists in highly rationalized plants and among highly skilled workers, not merely in depressed industries or areas.

Algeria and the UN

After a week of debate, the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly was still very far from agreeing on how the Algerian War might be ended. The Algerian nationalists associated with the FLN, for reasons given by M. Daniel in his article in this issue, had been hoping for the quick adoption of a resolution providing for UN supervision of a cease-fire and a referendum in Algeria. On the eve of the debate, the chances for passage of such a resolution appeared good, as the entire Communist bloc, a majority of the Afro-Asian bloc, several Latin American countries, and at least one Scandinavian country had expressed approval. Several developments, however, intervened.

Most important was the growing conviction in the State Department that President de Gaulle is sincerely trying to end "the dirty war," and that he should be given every opportunity to carry through his program for Algerian self-determination. The view that UN intervention is neither necessary nor proper is now shared by nine African members of the French Community, who throughout November had indicated a desire to act as intermediaries between the warring parties. The London-Tunis excursions of the Nigerian Prime Minister, at the end of November, brightened the hope in Western circles that peace might be arranged outside the UN.

During the first days of the Assembly debate, the French Community members, led by Premier Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and tacitly backed by the US and Great Britain, tried to obtain Afro-Asian support for a resolution offering their good offices in arranging peace talks. The move was sharply rejected by the Algerians, who claimed that only the UN could give adequate guarantees for a fair referendum. The same group – with the same backing – thereupon began to frame another resolution asking for postponement of a decision on Algeria until after the mid-term recess of the General Assembly. And since the Political Steering Committee has voted for adjournment of the Assembly on December 21 and 40 speakers are still scheduled to talk on Algeria, it appears that the UN might delay until February or March, thus giving de Gaulle more time.

While frustrating to those who feel that this highly inflammable conflict should be internationalized, postponement is the most useful action the General Assembly can now take. De Gaulle's courageous speeches to the French Army have left little doubt that he intends to permit the establishment of an Algerian Republic separate from France. The Damocles sword of the next UN session, coupled with the knowledge that the British Government and the incoming US Administration are extremely anxious for a settlement, should strengthen de Gaulle's determination to implement his bold design. Should he voluntarily agree to accept friendly offers of mediation – or, more important, offers of assistance in conducting the Algerian referendum – this might make it easier for the FLN to meet him half way. Most important, however, a few months of grace permits the Kennedy Administration to prepare its own policies toward Algeria. Led by a President who has a keen interest in North African affairs, the US should be able to play a more constructive role than it has – even if behind the scenes – in bringing peace.

The Business of Farming

With the decline of the independent grocery store and of the wholesalers and commission merchants who service it, agriculture has survived as the only small business branch of the food industry. When we think of the steadiness of the demand for food – the whole population dining at least three times a day – we realize that the persistence of its small business characteristics is the most important single fact about our farm economy. Agriculture is still organized on a small-business basis because it is more efficient that way.

But commercial farmers resemble other small entrepreneurs in that some make a good living while others fare dubiously and survive only because they inherited their investment in land and buildings; they operate a family property on what amounts to a caretaker basis. Still others with inadequate land and capital resources and tools continue in farming as a part-time occupation. Among such persons income received from farming supplements what is earned in non-farm work – or in

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the case of the many older people who linger on the fringes of farming, what they receive in Social Security.

We have proposed that farmers who have a clear potentiality of developing successful small enterprises should be aided by access to credit on liberal terms. We have proposed that they should be assisted in their dealings with the corporate giants that dominate the rest of the food industry, not through the control or subsidization of prices but through the regulation of the flow of farm commodities into the market. We have proposed that those who cannot succeed in building up commercial farm enterprises should be assisted to earn a satisfactory income in some other way – and that the dispersal of industry into rural areas should be accelerated to afford them a better opportunity to find such alternative sources of income, and as a measure of civil defense in the atomic age. We have further suggested that rural people who can neither earn a living in agriculture nor industry deserve much more attention, and assistance, than they are getting now.

Nevertheless, as one of our correspondents reminds us, (see *Correspondence*, page 22) many farmers prefer to put up with a lower standard of living because they are "distinct types of individuals who like to be close to the soil, and like elbow room." Is it socially desirable, asks this correspondent, that these most individualistic of all Americans should be encouraged to leave the land to become part of the regimented society of the city? The answer, of course, is "no." We merely pointed out that hundreds of thousands of farmers continue to decide for themselves that they can make a better living in the cities. The question our correspondent does not ask is whether such low income farmers should be supported indefinitely by the whole community, on a basis barely above subsistence, like the subsidized peasants of Switzerland and Austria.

History as Spiral

In 1902 a brash young President ordered an antitrust dissolution suit launched against the Northern Securities Company, a giant railroad combine put together by J. P. Morgan and Co. In Mark Sullivan's account, Morgan hurried to Washington. "If we have done anything wrong," he said to President Theodore Roosevelt, "send your man [meaning the Attorney-General of the United States] to my man [meaning Morgan's attorney] and they can fix it up."

Later TR remarked: "That is a most illuminating illustration of the Wall Street point of view. Mr. Morgan could not help regarding me as a big rival operator, who intended to ruin all his interests, or else could be induced to come to an agreement to ruin none."

Fifty-eight years have passed, another young President is about to take office, and the Investment Bankers' Association is being addressed in Florida by President Henry C. Alexander of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. of New York. Says he: "The Administration of President-elect John F. Kennedy and the business community should pledge themselves to peaceful coexistence and cooperation, and not lapse into the hostilities engendered under the Roosevelt Administration in the decade that preceded World War II."

Just two big coequal operators coexisting, each minding his own business and staying out of the other fellow's territory. "Send your man to my man, and they can fix it up"?

Or, as *The Detroit Free Press* remarked on the original occasion, will Wall Street again be "paralyzed at the thought that a President of the United States would sink so low as to try to enforce the law"?

What the Indians Want

The charitable, though not unprofitable, impulse which has animated those scriptwriters in the last few years who have brought "good" Indians, downtrodden Indians, heroic Indians to our television screens and theaters does not entirely expiate a sense of national guilt over the white invaders' manhandling and mishandling of the American continent's only native population. Now, with the splendid appointment as Secretary of Interior of Stewart Udall of Arizona and with the assurances of informed sympathy that have been given by President-elect Kennedy, the Indian cause is looking brighter. Secretary Udall will certainly wish to have as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs someone as dedicated as he to the Indians' welfare.

What the Indians want is "self-determination without termination" – by which they mean a reversal of policies laid down by the Republican 83rd Congress, that in effect looked to the closing out of the Indian problem by ending federal guardianship, putting tribes on their own and putting individuals under state laws, and in general washing the government's hands of further responsibility. Some tribes were indeed "terminated." But later the Administration modified this attitude, largely because of prodding by the then Assistant Secretary of Interior, Roger Ernst, and in 1958 announced that no tribe hereafter would be terminated without its consent.

There is not one Indian problem but scores. Some Americans of Indian blood have been fully assimilated into the wider community, such as W. W. Keeler, Executive Vice President of Phillips Petroleum, who addressed a post-election convention in Denver of The National Congress of American Indians. Mr. Keeler charged that the government has not been consulting

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the Indians, that it has tried to make them forget their heritage and "become whites," although it has not tried to stamp out the cultural identity of any other ethnic group.

Some of the tribes such as the Navajo, favored by the fact that oil, gas, uranium and other minerals have been found under the barren acres to which the white man exiled them, have become almost states within states, governed by tribal councils and hiring experts to aid them develop a self-supporting economy. But at the other extreme, some of the worst rural slums in America are found in Indian land – ridden with poverty, disease, alcoholism and plain hopelessness. There are very few Indian postgraduate students or possessors of advanced scholastic degrees.

The Democratic platform calls for a new look at the Indian problem, and Mr. Kennedy amplified this in a long letter that got little notice save in Indian country, but much attention there. In substance the platform pledges that Indian reservations and other Indian communities will be included within the terms of any housing or area redevelopment bill that Congress may pass. It promises to provide "ample assistance" for the Indian revolving credit fund, established in the Administration of FDR but contracted considerably in the middle fifties to develop vocational training and health programs; to work with tribal groups in preparing community developments through a kind of Point Four technical assistance (initially proposed by the Association on Indian Affairs); to improve Indian education; and finally to emphasize "genuinely cooperative relations between federal administrators and Indians."

The last is what Indians want perhaps most of all and much of the rest will flow from it. At Denver, the Congress of American Indians proposed a plan of development for each Indian group and suggested that no future action be taken by the federal government in respect to any group without the full consent of its members. They also asked that Indians be helped to hold onto their lands rather than selling or otherwise disposing of them. And specifically they asked for a "return to the principal purpose and philosophy of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, to halt the erosion of Indian rights and resources and to resume the progress in health and in economic educational and spiritual uplift made under that act."

A committee of Indians is scheduled to call on the President-elect sometime before January 20; they believe they have a friend in Mr. Kennedy; and they are sure they will have a defender in Secretary Udall.

THE AFRICANS' DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE UN

Fiasco in the Congo

United Nations

Thanks to Belgian and Soviet sabotage, and African inability to view the crack-up in the Congo in its wider perspective, the plans carefully elaborated by Dag Hammarskjold for keeping Africa insulated from the Cold War with the solid backing of the African countries are threatened with collapse. The Africans have been split and this represents one of the gravest events in the entire history of the UN. Unless their solidarity is reestablished, places such as the Union of South Africa, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Ruanda-Urundi may become new Congos, with the world organization incapable of playing a role commensurate with its responsibilities.

The Congo crisis came upon us shortly after the resumption of the Cold War following the U-2 incident and the collapse of the Summit conference in Paris last May. Even though the Russians were at that time more interested in increasing rather than reducing tensions, they supported international action in the Congo in order to get the Belgians out. For the same reason they voted in 1947 for the partition of Palestine and supported the creation of the State of Israel, to get the British out of the Middle East.

It should have been clear last summer that once the Belgians had been ousted, the Soviets would have had no further use for the UN in the Congo and that they would have done everything possible to secure its withdrawal. It should have been equally clear at that time that the solidarity of the African countries behind the UN could not be preserved in a situation of continuous meddling by the great powers.

The resolutions approved by the Security Council provided not only for the withdrawal of Belgian troops but also for the territorial integrity of the Congo. The second condition was of paramount importance to the Africans, and the secession of the mineral rich Province of Katanga represented the supreme test of the UN's effectiveness. Despite the highly ideological considerations which guided the activity of the Secretary-General, the African countries expected him to deal

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firmly, by force if necessary, to extend UN authority over the Province, and thus indirectly to re-establish the unity of the Congo. The Katanga secession represented an irreparable blow to the UN operation in that it strengthened the conviction of many Africans that Belgium was behind the move to divide the country, hoping thus to re-establish a paramount influence; it was of more concern to the Africans than even the unwillingness of the Belgians to withdraw all their troops. While the Secretary-General acted firmly in the question of Belgian withdrawal, his wavering attitude towards the Katanga secession has lost him support of a number of African States.

The effects of this episode were unfortunately compounded by Mr. Hammarskjold's decision, at a time when susceptibilities were particularly acute, to entrust the main responsibility for the Congo operation to three Americans, Under-Secretary Ralph Bunche, his Executive Assistant Andrew Cordier, and his African specialist, Heinrich Wieschhoff. It is easy to imagine what Washington's reaction would have been had three Russians been appointed instead. In previous cases, when it had been necessary to establish a United Nations presence, as in the Middle East or in Laos, Mr. Hammarskjold had been careful to entrust the main responsibilities to representatives of small or neutral countries so as to underline the noncommittal attitude of the UN. The African countries would probably have been solidly behind him had he carried out vigorously the two main directives given him by the Security Council. Since neither was enforced, they began to split. This combination of circumstances made it easy for the Soviet Union to intensify the Cold War in the territory, while appearing to act on behalf of the loftiest anti-colonialist principles. Since the West was averse to taking a firm stand with regard to the Katanga secession and the Belgian withdrawal, it was inevitable that some African States would come to consider the Soviet Union the only power capable of achieving what the UN was obviously unable to achieve. Their attitude was summed up by a young African diplomat: "If the United Nations is not capable of keeping the Cold War off Africa, we have no use for the organization."

The shady game played by the Belgians, who hung on every excuse in order to maintain their grip, furnished the Soviets with a convenient pretext for intervening. This in turn furnished a pretext for the intervention of the West. The seating of President Kasavubu in the General Assembly must be viewed in this context. Rightly or wrongly, deposed Premier Patrice Lumumba became the symbol of Eastern European influence, President Kasavubu and the country's present rulers a symbol of anti-Communist and Western influence. The prerequisite to the UN's role, neutrality, was destroyed. As a consequence some of the most influential countries in Africa have lost confidence in the Secretary-General and told him so in no uncertain terms during a stormy meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Congo held December 5. They wanted to know why the UN is paying to support Colonel Mobutu's army which a report of his own Special Representative, Rajesuwar Dayal, has described as an unruly rabble? And why the United Nations tolerated that Mr. Lumumba, whom most of them consider still the legal Premier, should be mistreated after his capture? What would the West have said, they wanted to know, if President Kasavubu had been so treated while Lumumba was in power? And why should the UN suggest an International Red Cross investigation when it has some 20,000 men on the spot?

Because it found him difficult to deal with, the UN was at first not sorry to see Lumumba go, only to realize afterwards the motivations behind and the consequences of his ouster. Today the UN Secretariat insists (privately) that Lumumba is the legal Premier, but the damage has been done. As successive reports by Mr. Dayal have indicated, his successors are neither easier to handle nor better capable of governing.

By insisting on bringing the problem of Congolese UN representation to a test, and by openly supporting the deposed Premier, the African countries that were behind the initiative managed only to provoke a counter-reaction and the seating of President Kasavubu in the General Assembly. This in turn strengthened the hand of Lumumba's followers in the Stanleyville area and made the prospect of full civil war more likely.

Experience in the Middle East should have taught that by supporting unrepresentative regimes on the basis only of their protestations of friendship, the West merely helps to create those conditions which brought civil war to Lebanon and a bloody revolution to Iraq. The Afro-Asians had planned to send a Conciliation Commission to the Congo in order to seek a compromise among the warring factions. President Kasavubu promised the Advisory Committee on the Congo that he would do his best to facilitate the Conciliation Commission's task once he returned to Leopoldville; he undertook to send a communication no later than December 3. The communication never arrived; what came was the news of Mr. Lumumba's arrest. The United States finds itself in the position of having to support an ally, Belgium, which is doing as much as the Soviets to sabotage the UN operation. Meanwhile, the organization is insolvent.

As things now stand, the best that can be hoped is that the UN will be able to withdraw from the Congo without leaving behind total anarchy. But even if this can be done, the organization will never again be what it was, nor can it hope to play the role for which Mr. Hammarskjold had so untiringly and enthusiastically tried to prepare it.

Mario Rossi

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Blurting Out the Truth

The gravamen of Harry Truman's offending is and always has been that he blurts. It is not that what he says is incorrect, but that it might be put more tactfully – only Harry doesn't call it being tactful, he calls it being mealy-mouthed; which is not incorrect but might be put more tactfully, and round we go again!

Take, for example, his recent comment on the American Medical Association: "It's a trust, and a mean one." The comment was evoked by the announcement that the AMA is preparing to make war to the death on medical aid to the aged other than aged paupers. It is on the face of it a mean war; but it has been successful so far and may succeed again in the next Congress, for the medical lobby is one of the most powerful.

Yet while the description is not incorrect, it would have been more tactful to couple with it some recognition of the immense public service that the AMA has performed in protecting the country against quack doctors and dangerous nostrums. The original John D. Rockefeller's original Standard Oil Company was also a trust and a mean one, but it did supply the country with good kerosene at a price the traffic could bear; and it did much to prevent the reckless waste of petroleum reserves.

But the oil trust needed and the AMA needs judicious but firm restraint. The original Rockefeller was a thirty-minute egg, but even at the age of 75 he retained the capacity to learn; for at that age he submitted to be guided by Ivy Lee, today in some disrepute as the "onlie begetter" of Madison Avenue, but in fact a man who really understood the American public. The AMA has been less astute, or perhaps less fortunate; for Ivy Lee died nearly 30 years ago.

The result is that there does not come to mind a single instance in which the AMA has been wrong on a strictly medical problem, or one in which it has been right on a political or economic question. In the past it has opposed such things as workmen's compensation, compulsory smallpox vaccination, the original Social Security Act, and even the Red Cross blood banks. Note that each of these had an economic or political aspect and it was on this that the AMA went wrong. For instance, no MD in good standing questions the value of blood banks; it was the Red Cross policy of donating the stuff in certain circumstances that aroused the opposition of the Association.

The idea that the doctors can fairly be called leeches, except in the archaic English of Wycliffe's Bible, is preposterous to the modern mind. On the contrary, the profession commands a popular respect rivalling that of the clergy, and enjoys a good-will vastly exceeding that extended to the judiciary. Why, then, does their national organization so often present them in an attitude so invidious as to provoke Mr. Truman's tactless but natural reaction?

Perhaps it is because the AMA, like many another large organization, notably some of the great labor unions, suffers a malady from which the individual is happily free, the debilitating syndrome popularly known as executive-secretaryitis. One of its more spectacular symptoms is the fixing of policy by a small group of officials without reference to or respect for the sentiments of rank-and-file members.

Certainly the ordinary working stiff in a labor union does not approve wasting the welfare funds on gold-plated limousines for national officers. No more does the ordinary family physician begrudge some assistance to people over 65 with heavy medical expenses, even if they are not absolute paupers. It is the high brass in the national organization that cooks up such schemes; yet the popular resentment inevitably falls on the local practitioner, who was never consulted about it.

Ask any insurance man familiar with actuarial figures this question: how many men, rated as rich at 40, are still in easy financial circumstances at 65? The answer will probably surprise and depress you. Yet it is above age 65 that medical expenses begin to skyrocket; which is precisely why, in so many cases, relatives and friends must ante up to meet the undertaker's bill.

So perhaps, after all, Mr. Truman's blunt and unflattering utterance may have been well-timed. For tactless or not, it voiced the real opinion of a vast number of Americans and it is not a bad idea to have such things dragged out into the open. Conceivably it might induce the doctors themselves to seek advice from some leader who knows the American people at least half as well as the man who has slapped their new-born into drawing breath and has closed the eyes of their dead.

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If France Is Condemned

by Jean Daniel

Paris

This is the sixth year and the sixth time that the problem of Algeria has been entered on the agenda of the General Assembly. Once more, the corridors of the UN are thoroughfares for intrigue, for maneuverings of cliques and for struggles between factions. The power of lobbies, rather than ideas, will again be tested. Once more, the United States will seek to ascertain where its interest lies, will try to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, will declare itself torn between the hard requirements of the Western Alliance and the new vision it cherishes of anti-colonialism in Africa. During a discussion I recently had in Paris with several Anglo-Saxon analysts, an American friend of mine asked a question which really went to the heart of the matter: "What point would there be in having France condemned?" This summed up the whole discussion and summed up a number of other matters as well – the internal situation in France, the Algerian war, the Cold War between the East and the West, and, finally, the limits of the UN's role.

If France were condemned by the UN, here is what we may anticipate. General de Gaulle, who has no great fondness for the world organizations, would be exasperated. Should the nations that he himself describes as "disunited" unite for the sole purpose of discrediting a French undertaking, it would simply heighten his instinctive xenophobia and that nationalistic fervor of his which is so notoriously characterized by suspicion and distrust. So much the better, one might say, for this will add to his difficulties in his own country. On the contrary: nothing could be less certain. For better or for worse, the United Nations has not sold itself to the French people. Upon one occasion when I was holding a conference in a very labor-minded *milieu* and had referred to the UN, a worker asked me whether I could lightheartedly accept the fact that the representatives of such-and-such a country in the Middle East, where slavery has not yet disappeared, or of such-and-such another country where prisoners were still tortured, could pose as judges. He said: "I'm willing to fight to wipe out torture in Algeria and put an end to the war, but I refuse to take lessons from unworthy teachers." Still another worker claimed that "all that stuff is just a pack of nonsense: the UN is nothing but a theater, and the only actors are the Americans and the Russians." If France is condemned, it will not diminish de Gaulle's popularity at home. Nor, necessarily, will the French be made more aware of their responsibilities. It is also claimed that condemnation by the UN would demonstrate the world's solidarity with the Algerian *maquis*, thus bringing very considerable pressure to bear on France. Let us examine this argument. Since such pressure could have little effect on an exasperated de Gaulle, it would have either to give rise to intervention by the UN in Algeria, or provoke internal conflict in France. The Congolese crisis at least showed us that the UN is not yet prepared to intervene anywhere at random; the struggle between East and West has never been more sharp than in the Congo; we have once more seen that the UN simply reflects the contradictions of its own members. Furthermore it is obviously inconceivable that any intervention could take place without the interested country first expressing an appeal for such intervention. And here the question arises: Who is the interested country? Would it be said that it is Algeria? Alright, but which Algeria? I know full well that the vast majority of the Moslems feel in their hearts that they are represented by the FLN government of Mr. Ferhat Abbas; but his government does not control any portion of Algerian territory.

Would it then be a question of framing a UN resolution which would attempt to impose a referendum or a plebiscite on Algeria, under UN supervision? Again, such a resolution, though valid and legal, would have no effectiveness if it is not accepted by France. The truth is that the only hope such a resolution may further is the hastening of de Gaulle's downfall by international pressure. Well, let us consider the worst possibility – or the best, as the case may be. Let us visualize the Russians and the Americans standing together in the UN, as they did on the Suez question, to condemn France, gambling on de Gaulle's successor. What then?

The successors? They are already waging public battle. Anyone in Paris can cite their names and titles. They are all partisans of French Algeria who believe that de Gaulle has betrayed the Constitution and the honor of the Army, and the commitments made on May 13, 1958. They are such persons as Georges Bidault, Jacques Soustelle, Antoine Pinay, Max Lejeune, Bourgès-Maunoury, Roger Duchet and Lacost-Lareymondie. They are such leading military figures as Marshall Juin, Generals Salan, Jouhaud, and Lecomte, or Zeller. And who are all these men? Certainly not Fascists in the Mussolinian sense of the word, nor yet in the Stalinist sense. But when all is said and done, in their passion for a French Algeria, they are prepared to back and

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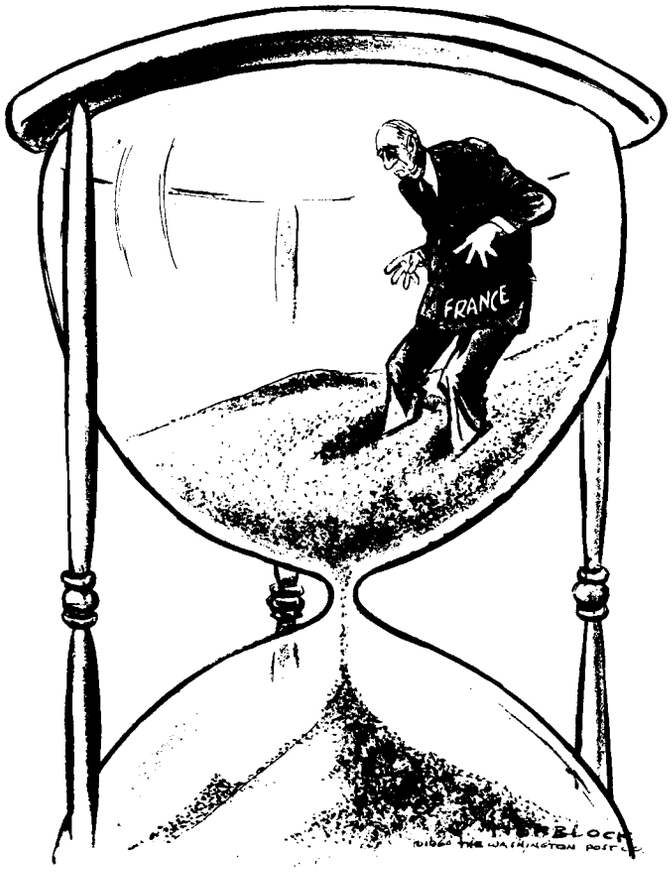

Algerian Sands

put in power just about any political regime which will permit them (in their eyes) to "preserve the integrity of France" and not abandon a single foot of national territory, including Algeria.

What good would come from such a hazardous enterprise, which would be translated into massive and widespread war in Algeria and the unleashing in Metropolitan France of McCarthy-type methods manifest now only occasionally and fortuitously, but which could become the permanent order of the day? At long last France would break free from her present equivocal situation, we are assured by the domestic and foreign enemies of de Gaulle. Most certainly! But there are several ways of breaking free, and the way I have just described is perhaps not the best.

Still, it is further claimed, Fascism would only last a short while, because the French people, imbued with a tradition of revolution, would not tolerate dictatorship for any length of time. And when, at long last, the French come to feel just as unhappy and just as concerned as the Algerians, then they will take up arms on the side of the Algerians; and at the same time that it rids itself of its dictator, France will make peace with the FLN. This bit of revolutionary romanticism is believed by some very fine minds. I imagine that even the great philosopher and romantic, Jean-Paul Sartre, accepts it. There is a whole section of Algerian leaders who also have lined up alongside these prestigious French intellectuals.

Such an analysis is, of course, by no means without concern for the future. But the "reasoning" is the reasoning of despair, of the last desperate chance. It is also a harbinger of other schemes and other hopes. The compromise peace de Gaulle espouses fails to satisfy the French leftists, because a rallying of the leftists in response to a Fascist challenge would be avoided and a popular front with the Communists would be pushed back still further. Nor does a compromise with de Gaulle satisfy the Algerian leaders party. After six years of war they want to bypass all temporizing and make a clean breakthrough – *i.e.*, obtain independence and at the same time establish a social or socialistic revolution in Algeria. To achieve this, they need to have complete and exclusive control of the government of an independent Algeria, very soon, and without "Neo-Colonists" or Western powers breaking the force of their forward sweep during a period of transition. And since they realize that they can only achieve a victory of this kind by extending the conflict or by almost any type of internationalization of the Algerian question, the positions of both the French leftists and the Algerian leaders is the same – and understandably so.

In my personal judgment, these hopes are irrational, and for one basic reason: When men are dying for an ideal, it is important to see how near they have come to victory, and whether or not the time is at hand to transform military warfare into political combat so that they may henceforth *live* for their ideal. Moreover, it is never wise to gamble on the probable destiny of any kind of Fascism. Who can know, and who can foresee what a France-turned-Fascist might become in a period in which the West would be compelled to assist it, as the West is even now aiding Spain and Portugal? In the end, we might all be compelled to give up hope where General de Gaulle is concerned; France might be dragged gradually into Fascism; and then perhaps as a last resort, we might wish to see France censured by the UN, to see an extension of the Algerian conflict, or internationalization in any form, and the overthrow of de Gaulle.

But have we reached this point? This is the vital question, and in all honesty, we must answer "no." The domestic situation in France has not been stabilized; it is often explosive, dangerously so. Nor can it be said that the Algerian war has become less horrible, or that the terrorism on the one hand and the repressive measures on the other hand have become less abominable. Atrocious massacres have taken place recently in Djebel; there have been bombings of cinemas and cafés. On each side, it is the innocent who suffer most. And finally, it must be admitted that de Gaulle has not

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abandoned his questionable tactics of maneuver, of indirection. Instead of negotiating, at a time when he has the power to do so, he follows a tortuous path full of ambushes and uncertainties.

Since November 4, however, he has at last emerged from his state of immobilization; he has taken the offensive against all opposition; he has staked his life; he has hurled defiance. Above all, he is the first French Chief of State since 1830, the date of the Algerian conquest, who has referred to an Algerian Republic as an entity separate from France, thus severing the umbilical cord which, in the eyes of the men who, on May 13, 1958, swept him, de Gaulle, to power, united the two countries. I am compelled to recognize that this French General is fighting against the Army; that this man of the Right nonetheless is holding out in opposition to the colonialist beliefs of the French reactionaries and even of the leftists. These are facts, just as it is a fact that General de Gaulle has already conceded – albeit only in principle – almost all the objectives of the Algerian nationalists. The military aims of the latter have been in part achieved. And this is why, at this time, I cannot see that any interest would be served in having France condemned by the UN.

During the discussion to which I alluded at the beginning of this article, an Englishman asked me if I didn't feel that it was precisely the threat of the Chinese and the Russians (who are offering to aid the Algerians) which finally made de Gaulle decide to act. Very possibly. Similarly, the action of the opposition in France, and the agitation provoked by the friends of Jean-Paul Sartre, could very well have influenced him. Similar pressures may also have been brought to bear since by the United States, through public opinion, or through diplomatic channels, within NATO, for example. However, this should in no way be taken to mean that pressure by the UN would have any effectiveness whatsoever. I am not hostile to pressure of this sort, I am simply skeptical as to the effects of UN condemnation. And above all, I believe that the UN would lead itself into an impasse and not advance the solution of the Algerian problem by a single step, while at the same time provoking in France a reaction which could only be chauvinistic.

Planning for Growth-A Critical Comment

by George W. Cloos

Early last year, it became apparent that the economic revival following the steel strike would not be so vigorous as had been anticipated. It did not take the expectation of an actual drop in activity to start a stream of professional and amateur economists beating the drums for growth. Among the more competent and respected statements on this question were two published in *The New Republic* – the first (July 25) by James Tobin of Yale, who is Director of the Cowles Foundation for Research in Economics and is listed as one of the President-elect's advisers; the second by Senator Paul H. Douglas and Howard Shuman (September 26).

It seems to me, in the first place, that both the Tobin and Douglas-Shuman articles use the data on our Gross National Product (total spending on goods and services) in a manner which must cause apprehension among the skillful, conscientious civil servants who compile these statistics. Both attribute to these figures only an "approximate reliability." Nevertheless, they contrast growth rates over periods of years of 2.4 percent per year with 3.2 percent and refer to growth of .7 percent per year per capita.

The Gross National Product accounts do give us an indispensible framework for analysis of economic developments. However, the development and maintenance of these data require making use of source materials of dubious accuracy. The struggle to improve the GNP accounts makes it necessary to revise back data periodically. Calculated growth trends might appear quite different if, for example, the statistical underpinning for current estimates of spending on consumer services and on construction that is put in place was strengthened. How we account for the labors of housewives and how we value the work of numerous government employees, also, could change the "history of growth" appreciably.

An even greater problem is presented by the need to adjust current dollar figures for the changes in the price level. For example, price indexes, ordinarily, make no

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allowance for the introduction of new and better products. As a result, the "deflated" or "constant dollar" data on GNP tend to understate the true growth in the economy. When Mr. Tobin says that "the prices of goods and services needed for government activity . . . rose relative to the prices of consumption goods and services," he calls attention inadvertently to one aspect of this problem of adjusting for price changes. Much of the government "product" goes into GNP in terms of the wages and salaries paid to government employees. There is no allowance here for a rise in productivity, although in many instances such increases unquestionably do occur.

The accuracy of our measures of aggregate output comes into question increasingly as attempts are made to push these series back into history. The official series on GNP starts in 1929. Over the past 31 years vast improvements have been made in the development of source materials. Prior to the Great Depression there was much less interest in the collection of data. Forty years ago there were no figures on national employment which compare reasonably with those we have today. Fifty years ago there were no income tax statistics, which now provide "benchmarks." And so when W. W. Rostow, in his *Stages of Economic Growth*, analyzes the constant dollar growth rate for a number of different nations for periods as early as the middle of the 18th Century, credulity is stretched beyond the breaking point for many economists.

Yet for all one might say about the questionable nature of the data used in calculating growth trends, the tables for 1897 and the intervening years have been given wide distribution and are in common use. Most writers on growth have concentrated on the selection of a rate of growth that we should "shoot for." Historically this appears to be something over 3 percent. In recent years it has been less. Rockefeller, Kennedy and Tobin have suggested a 5 percent growth rate as the target for the future. Even 6 percent has been spoken of. We are told that the Russian growth rate has been 7 percent, though it is easier, of course, for the Russians to achieve a high rate of economic growth because of the low base from which they are progressing and because the Soviet leaders have the power to restrain consumption by fiat. It should be remembered also, that if statistics are to be used as weapons in the Cold War they can be custom-built to serve this end.

Senator Douglas and Mr. Shuman "think it safer to shoot initially for [a] slightly lower figure [than 5 percent] . . . The brilliant Otto Eckstein has concluded that with proper governmental policies we can raise . . . annual growth rate to 4.5 percent a year . . . without any appreciable increase in price or wage levels and without any change in our basic institutions." They point out that a 4.5 percent growth rate would give us a GNP in 1975 of $975 billion, as contrasted with $715 billion if the rate were only 2.5 percent. This compares with a current level of $505 billion.

Are figures of this sort meaningful? Do they tell us anything more than that we can expect total production to be much higher fifteen years hence than it is now, and that the faster the economy grows the more rapidly the base for future expansion widens?

Does our vision of the future come into clearer focus when current production figures are projected through the use of the compound interest table in "1959 dollars"? We will not have 1959 dollars in 1975. Prices on identical items will have changed and the largest share of the nation's product will not be identical.

There is another approach to the adequacy of the current level of production which does not depend upon the calculated growth rate. Both Tobin and Douglas refer to unused resources of manpower and productive facilities. The writers of both articles realize that completely full employment is not a reasonable goal and they do not advocate that an attempt be made to achieve it. However, unemployment, defined as the number of persons without jobs who are actively seeking work, has been running at a rate of 5 to 6 percent in recent months – well above the 3 percent figure that both Douglas and Tobin appear to consider optimum.

Both authors are aware, too, that most of the nation's basic industries which operated near practical capacity in several earlier postwar years now possess ample facilities to expand output. Even without the growth-rate legerdemain, therefore, it may be agreed that national output could be increased substantially from recent levels. The question is, should public policy be directed toward this end, and, if so, in what manner?

Different Roads to Growth

Many conservatives still assert that any deliberate attempt to raise the level of economic activity will be self-defeating because an artificial stimulus will upset business decision-making and cause a relapse. In other words, they believe the cure is worse than the disease and might even increase its virulence. One might disagree with this "value judgment" but one cannot disprove it. Such views are of the same cloth as Eckstein's assertion that "proper governmental policies can raise this annual growth rate to 4.5 percent a year . . . without any appreciable increase in price or wage levels."

Other conservatives agree that public policy should be directed toward increasing the growth rate, but their specific recommendations are quite different from those of Tobin and Douglas. Some would drastically revise the method of taking depreciation, reduce the high bracket income tax rates or restrict union activities. These and similar proposals are constantly being

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offered as means by which the US growth rate could be stepped up to compare more favorably with that of Russia. The point I wish to make is that acceptance of the idea that the rate of growth has slowed does not take us far along the road toward concrete policy recommendations.

Both Tobin and Douglas advocate that additional resources be devoted to public needs. Tobin lists "education, basic and applied research, urban redevelopment, resource conservation and development, transportation and other facilities." Douglas emphasizes defense and education.

Now, Senator Douglas was a professor before he entered the Senate, and twelve years in that body have convinced him (if he needed convincing after serving in the Chicago City Council) that broad legislative programs cannot be presented to the two houses of Congress and swallowed whole. He knows that, in normal times, each new spending proposal will be considered separately. Tobin, on the other hand, suggests that "we resolve to increase to 25 percent the government share of total output." One might ask, "Why not 20 percent or 30 percent?" But that is not the real point. Do we really want our political leaders to select a certain percentage of GNP as the optimum proportion for government spending and then divide this total among the various programs? Or do we desire that each project and program be weighed on its merits?

Mr. Tobin does not discuss defense which accounts for about half of the current federal budget. It is a curious omission in view of the present concern over the state of this nation's military preparedness. Defense expenditures, including foreign aid, have held at the $45 billion rate for the past three fiscal years. The budget for fiscal 1961 presented last January called for a continuance at this rate. The Administration has steadfastly resisted all attempts to increase this dollar ceiling. Recently, it has been indicated by the Secretary of Defense and by the President himself that the situation is being re-examined. Senator Symington's committee has re-examined it and made a report to the President-elect. Various programs for more aircraft and missiles, more research, faster modernization of the ground forces, more extensive anti-submarine facilities and civil defense could require expenditures which would total tens of billions of dollars annually. It is quite possible that even with some paring of "fat" total defense outlays will rise substantially in the months and years ahead.

On the other hand, it is conceivable that the hopes of all mankind for disarmament will be realized in the near future. In that case, the defense budget might be *reduced* by tens of billions. Let us say no more on the matter of defense except to suggest that the reader keep in mind the possibility that changes in this sector could completely upset any long-run plans for government expenditures and revenues, surpluses or deficits.

Encouraging Private Investment

Tobin also wants to increase private investment. He suggests that we "resolve" to increase this segment of spending to 18 percent of GNP. He proposes to do this by lowering interest rates and making credit "readily available," by easing further the provisions in the Revenue Code under which individuals may average their incomes over a period of time for tax purposes, and by providing tax rebates for corporations whose outlays for capital goods exceed a "specified minimum [which] would be the sum of depreciation and . . . 48 percent of the net income before tax."

How does Tobin know that this program would stimulate investment sufficiently to bring it up from 15 to 18 percent of GNP? If his program were presented on an "other things equal" basis one might merely draw back in admiration at his ability to evaluate the impact of such changes with precision. However, one's imagination is strained by the third element in his plan. Tobin wishes to restrict consumption by increasing income taxes, social security taxes and property taxes, and by limiting "to a reasonable proportion of sales" the deductibility of advertising and promotional expenses. He would increase taxes not merely to cover higher government spending but to create a surplus, and so release resources for private investment.

One might think from Tobin's analysis that private investment has not been substantial in recent years. Actually, total private fixed investment has averaged close to 15 percent of GNP in the past 15 years as compared with 14 percent in 1929, the big investment year of the 1920's. This year, 1960, capital outlays will be substantially above last year and will approximate the postwar average.

The upswing in capital investment since the 1958 recession low has been impressive, but it has not been so vigorous as the 1954-57 rise, largely because the level of demand for final products and the profit potential for new investments does not suggest to business managements that additional investments are desirable at the present time. As noted earlier, capacity is comfortably adequate in virtually all lines, and during 1960 demand has fallen short of expectations. Some observers suggest that we have entered a period of "oversaving" now that the most urgent needs of consumers have been satisfied.

Under these conditions, can it be possible that the meager carrots that Tobin offers the potential investor would induce much additional investment, particularly when he couples this with a proposal to restrict consumption by raising consumer taxes? The Douglas-

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Shuman view, that "increased investment can best be achieved by assuring vigorous expansion of total demand," seems more reasonable.

Profit margins are high when facilities are operating near capacity. Under such circumstances investment plans tend to be revised upward even in the face of higher interest rates.

The Government Surplus

Let us consider now the governmental surplus that Tobin wishes to engineer by raising taxes more than expenditures. This nation has had a run of cash surpluses at various times in the past, for example, in the 1920's and in the early years of the Truman Administration. But these surpluses were not the result of higher tax rates, which were, in fact, reduced during these periods. Rather, economic growth created higher incomes and produced enough revenue to create a surplus. Is Tobin's program for tax increases large enough to produce a surplus politically feasible?

Mr. Tobin believes that a budget surplus will clear the way for increased private investment. His approach to the matter is puzzling. A surplus in and of itself simply means that government receipts have exceeded expenditures over a period of time. The Treasury uses excess cash to retire debt. But it obtains this cash from the public. Therefore, the net result of a surplus used to retire debt is to remove government securities from the hands of the public. This destruction of liquid assets, of course, tends to restrict private spending.

Mr. Tobin says "the surplus must, to be sure, be coupled with measures to stimulate investment, so that the national resolution to save actually leads to capital formation and is not wasted in unemployment and unrequited loss of consumption." This is an odd way to put it. Really, the cause and effect runs the other way. High level spending and investing in the private sector *produces* the surplus. There will *be* no surplus unless private capital formation occurs in large volume and unemployment is at relatively low levels.

Referring to his general program for easy money, higher taxes and higher expenditures, Mr. Tobin states, "The policies outlined above must be combined in the right proportions, so that aggregate demand is high enough to maintain a 3 percent unemployment rate but not higher. There are several mixtures which can do the job; of them we must choose the one that gives the desired composition of aggregate demand." In another place he says, "Let people earn the incomes associated with a 2.5 percent rise in output per capita, and . . . keep their consumption from rising faster than 1 percent. . . ." Presumably, he knows of "several mixtures" to do this as well.

As an economist who has spent 15 years in the vineyard, I am awestruck by Mr. Tobin's confidence. He knows how to determine monetary policy, tax rates and government spending programs so as to keep the unemployment rate at 3 percent, to provide a 2.5 percent rise in output per capita and to permit consumption to rise by 1 percent per year! If only he had given one of these "mixtures," I for one would give up house and home to follow in his footsteps.

I would like only to suggest that broad economic plans are affected by the decision-making of four and one-half million business firms, thousands of private financial institutions and 50 million households. These entities have an annoying habit of raising or lowering their spending sights in the short-run. This is one reason why it is difficult to "plan" deficits or surpluses in particular years.

Between fiscal 1959 and fiscal 1960, for example, the United States Treasury went from a $13 billion deficit to a $1 billion surplus, almost entirely because of an increase in revenues attributable to a rise in private spending. Advance estimates of the amount of surplus or deficit often have been billions of dollars off the mark in the postwar years.

If the economy continued to operate at a high level without recessions or periods of "surplus capacity," the present tax rate structure could be counted upon to produce a surplus. There would be no need for higher rates as Mr. Tobin proposes. The nature of tax systems in general and the progressive income tax in particular means that tax collections tend to rise much more rapidly than income in periods of prosperity.

A final word. Both Tobin and Douglas argue for a faster rate of economic growth and for an increase in government expenditures. These are separate problems. If there is an excessive volume of unused resources, most economists would agree that steps should be taken to eliminate this waste through the use of monetary and fiscal policy. Increasing the government share of GNP is another matter.

Tobin writes that, "The overriding issue of political economy in the 1960's is how to allocate the national output." It is difficult to see how this can be the case when a substantial volume of resources remains idle. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the product to be obtained from unemployed resources should necessarily be directed to the public sector. A higher level of private expenditures always can be promoted through easier monetary policy and tax reductions.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the process of allocating the national output will continue to be determined by the "uncoordinated decisions and habits of millions of consumers, businessmen and governments," whether Tobin likes it or not. Though I should add that this criticism does not apply to what Senator Douglas and Mr. Shuman have written.

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The Materialism of Vance Bourjaily

by Janice Davis

On an early page of Vance Bourjaily's *Confessions of a Spent Youth*, we are told that the real reason he "confesses" is because he wants to "tell some truths" and that he believes "the truth has value." These early pages lead us to expect that we are to be taken on a journey of considerable significance, that the themes are the great ones of "thinking about the war, about time, about love, about myself." But I wonder if many readers whose sympathies are thus engaged will not read on with ever-growing disappointment. The real subject matter of this book is not the war or time and it is certainly not love. It is the familiar, obsessive, American one of sexuality – driven, unhappy, meaningless sexuality.

Confessions of a Spent Youth
by Vance Bourjaily
(Dial; $4.95)

Let us hasten to say that my quarrel is not with this subject matter itself. My quarrel is with the author's tacit assumption that the mere detailing of a variety of lurid sexual activities is enough to make a novel interesting and important. That quite a few people will agree with him, however, is obvious. How else explain the popularity, even among "serious"readers, of novels whose chief distinction is a sort of quaint, post-pubescent exhibitionism? If the fault of many novels by women is an almost narcissistic "sensitivity," then that of many written by men, at least in America, is arrested development of another but related sort: the aura of adolescent sexual fantasy.

The oddest thing about these *Confessions* is that, despite this monotonously inescapable aura, the book does not hang together well. I do not think this is the fault of the picaresque form in which it is cast, for the episodic can still have unity. Some fault must be laid to the fact that many of the sections have appeared previously in a number of different magazines – the sharpest break is in "The Fractional Man," where suddenly the novel turns into one of those politely stylized I-had-an-exotic-grandmother recollection pieces. Even so, the real cause, I suspect, is a deeper one and is related to the author's going beyond his range. He is at his best with naturalistic description and straight-forward narration. When he sticks to these he often manages isolated scenes that are powerful and impressive and sometimes wonderfully funny, like the one in which the Scarsdale temptress, Jeannie Childress, goes through some memorable antics with a kitten. Even the descriptions of male undergraduate life and the agonizingly boring scatalogical conversations among these young men, each lavishly characterized from the outside but each somehow indistinguishable from all the others, have authenticity.

It is with the inner life that Mr. Bourjaily has trouble, and, unfortunately, this leads him to take up certain poetic and meditative postures. They are never more than postures, for the poetic lies outside his range, and the result is a disturbing pretentiousness. The narrator-protagonist is named Quincy; this and the frontispiece quotation from *The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* are meant evidently to suggest a

The Choirboy's Christmas Eve

Christmas Eve, and the road is packed with snow
Under the brittle, starry sky. The boy
Crunches his way to church. He hears the bells
Summon him from the four-room bungalow
Where light is yellow, warm, where Christmas spells
Suspense. But he has Christmas work: The joy

Of carols moves him forward to the town
Where light will be the candlelight of Mass
And he the song, part of the song now springing
Out of his head. He chugs his breath in blasts
Of steam. He is a train. The song has flown
Ahead of him to church. He feels like flinging

A snowball at the big girl giggling by. . . .
The Holly and the Ivy – that is the song
He likes. He whistles over the bells and tries
To counterpoint the sound. The music man
Said "counterpoint"; "antiphonal" is wrong,
The boy is thinking. It is like trying to scan

Evangeline. At last he sees the steeple:
It is an upside-down icicle, spiraling
From snow-hung ivy. He is at home, his other
Home, where he dons his starched cotta, where Mother
Watches his every move; and all the people
Rise for the Eucharist, the choirboys caroling.

DOUGLAS NICHOLS

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connection with De Quincey's erratic masterpiece. But except for the minor matter of a shared love of the sensational there is no connection. De Quincey's intellectuality, his language, his revelatory capacities – there is no suggestion of these. A few reefers in Cairo, a few more at the end of the book, interspersed with some unbelievably stilted dialogues about Bop Jazz, do not make a De Quincey out of a Quince.

But what, to give him his full name, is U. S. D. Quincey – be advised that the "U" stands for Ulysses – really like? Evidently he is like the boy next door, if Mr. Bourjaily and certain other writers are to be believed. Perhaps only history, or that very post-war generation which is now coming to its maturity and of which the novel insists Quince is an emblem can decide whether he is or not. Quince in the novel is "directionless, inclined to resent a world he never made and to rebel against it, but not with any purpose. Although he is in many ways passive, he asserts his masculinity in the hurly-burly of repeated sexual conquest. Very rapidly he learns a prodigious amount about sex, but he remains vastly ignorant about love in any of the various forms in which it may be experienced. What is so astonishing is that Quince, at nearly forty (as he narrates these matters), seems remarkably to have retained the point of view of Quince at eighteen. Equally astonishing is the gap between the story he is telling and the story he thinks he is telling. He is never struck by how little joy his priapic adventures bring him (shades of Tom Jones or Felix Krull!), nor by the interesting fact that the girls he knows, albeit cooperative, do not much enjoy themselves either. Then there is the matter of how enchanted he is by the idea of his own lostness. Not even the reading we are told he has done has given him much in the way of courage, or grace. The war does not cause his sense of disconnection; it confirms it. While the unexamined life may be worth living I am not certain it is worth confessing.

The real difficulty is that Mr. Bourjaily is essentially a materialist (his last and highly praised novel, *The Violated*, elicited from one reviewer a comparison with Dostoevsky – no comparison could be more far-fetched); as such he evokes, often vividly, the accurately observed surface of his world – it is wholly recognizable, and it is immediate and "real." But he is seldom able to go beyond that surface to find and suggest those intenser realities that give his world its being, that set it in motion and people it. "The confusions of the heart," to use his own term, are what really matter, but it is just these which he is so reluctant to approach. Not all who have written about youth in America have been so reluctant, not Thomas Wolfe or Carson McCullers or J. D. Salinger, to name, deliberately, three minor writers who are otherwise quite different from each other. Let *The Catcher in the Rye* be a case in point. However over-rated it has been in recent years, by academicians and undergraduates alike, it nevertheless has beneath its surface a reaching after the unseen and an all-important willingness to deal with *feelings*.

On the last page of Mr. Bourjaily's long and labored novel we are asked to regard it only as a "specimen account of how a contemporary youth was spent – not misspent nor well-spent, merely spent." This reader at least was only too inclined to agree.

The Supreme Court Observed

by Alexander M. Bickel

In the bibliographical essay appended to his excellent book on the Supreme Court and American constitutional law, Mr. McCloskey, Professor of Government at Harvard, registers a well-mannered and well-taken complaint. The literature of his subject is enormous, he says, and it maintains "a noble tradition of precision and thoroughness." But it exhibits also "an abiding reluctance to generalize or to carry inquiry beyond the borders of the technical legal issue into the realms of philosophy or interpretive history." And so the laymen is made to think that constitutional law is "either impossibly recondite or impossibly dull, and probably both." It is neither, and Mr. McCloskey proves it.

The American Supreme Court
by Robert G. McCloskey
(Chicago; $5)
Felix Frankfurter: Scholar on the Bench
by Helen Shirley Thomas
(Johns Hopkins; $6.50)

We have, naturally, had other books, both by political scientists and lawyers, that have carried the inquiry beyond the borders of the technical legal issue. But some of these have carried it way, way beyond, losing sight of the actual Court and its actual work. Some have covered only segments of the subject. And some, though without taking total leave of legal issues, have concentrated hard on the advocacy of this or that thesis, so that in the end they were more provocative than satisfying. Mr. McCloskey's book is a rare achievement because it is none of these. It is lucid, readable, indeed, brilliantly written, and – meaning no disrespect – sound. It is not tendentious. It rests on what the great majority of modern students of the subject would consider common ground. And yet it makes an original contribution in its sweeping presentation of 170 years of history.

Early in its life, as Mr. McCloskey tells us, the Court saw it as its peculiar function to take the long view where others take the short. And that is precisely what McCloskey himself does. He remarks but four or five periods in the Court's history. Staking out a claim to the power of judicial review in the first dozen years is followed by establishment of a limited but secure sphere of judicial supremacy. The institution is dedicated to the service of nationalism as a dominant value and of the rights of property as a congruent value. From 1835 to the Civil War, the Court consolidates, trims and maneuvers, but carries its mission forward. Under grave provocation and gripped in "the pride of power," the Court commits the *Dred Scott* case, and that, as Fouché might have said, "is more than a crime; it is a blunder." But the Court survives that, as well as the war (which like all wars is very hard on judges), and launches itself upon a task of qualified but nonetheless vigorous protection of the busi-

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ness community against government. The dominant value now is *laissez-faire*. In a number of spectacular cases in the twenties and thirties, five Justices seem quite "deluded by the notion that the welfare state could be judicially throttled and the brave old world of their youth restored." The consequence is almost the end of the story, but the Court, lying down to bleed awhile, rises to fight again. The dominant value in the modern period is civil rights.

All this sounds plain enough, even obvious. In the form of such a precis as I have given, it happens also to be untrue. To make it true, as Mr. McCloskey does, takes a great deal of penetration of the judicial process and of American history, and a great deal of fleshing out. Then is the Court truly revealed as having "seldom strayed very far from the mainstreams of American life and seldom overestimated its own power resources." For the Court's behavior is conditioned by the tension between the twin American ideals (largely inconsistent) of popular sovereignty and fundamental law.

Mr. McCloskey's story stands safely on its own two feet. It is not a half-truth. But as he would concede, it is also not the whole truth. For the Court has its being in yet another state of inescapable tension, the tension in constitutional law (as in all law) between general principles and doctrine on the one hand and, on the other, case-by-case pragmatic development, the famed process of inclusion and exclusion. Holmes, the master of the common law, believed that "the chief end of man is to form general propositions – adding that no general proposition is worth a damn." They are delusive when slogans are mistaken for them, and dangerous when they harden into dogma; yet the Court's capacity to form and apply general propositions remains its chief end and reason for existence.

Mr. McCloskey does not deny the Holmesian tension. The Court's task, he warns, "requires judges who can practice the arts of discrimination without losing the light of reason and getting lost in a welter of *ad hoc*, pragmatic judgments." But for his purposes he necessarily emphasizes the pragmatic process of inclusion and exclusion, imposing on it a historian's order. That the examination and evaluation of doctrine, of its coherence and of its validity, is an equally important undertaking, and that it can be equally illuminating in going "beyond the borders of the technical legal issue" is demonstrated by Miss Thomas' book on Justice Frankfurter.

In terms that make her volume accessible to the general reader, Miss Thomas, a member of the Department of Political Science at Goucher College, analyzes the career and the work of Justice Frankfurter. Regarding that career as a whole, and not forgetting a Holmes or a Brandeis among his elders, or a Black among his contemporaries, it is not too much to say that Justice Frankfurter has been for a generation the single most influential figure in American constitutional law. Miss Thomas has produced, therefore, a history of the modern Court. And it is a good one. She writes in depth and in detail, with perception, and with insight which is often, as in the chapters on Symbols and on Group Conflicts, quite remarkable. She is detached, she is judicious, and she is critical. Her book is not a recital but an evaluation.

Miss Thomas' vantage point is, as I have suggested, different from Mr. McCloskey's. She seeks to identify and assess the unifying principles that inform the vast number of opinions she passes in review. Since she writes of law, and more particularly of a disciple of Holmes, she finds, of course, that among these principles is the one which reads: "No general proposition is worth a damn." Yet it is the judge's calling to give us principles that transcend the moment's pressing concern, and himself to serve them faithfully. His fidelity to principle – and to *which* principle – is one of our standards for judging him. Miss Thomas' book is a significant addition to a literature which, as Mr. McCloskey gently implies, while it is enormous, is not necessarily rich.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Janice Davis, *a novelist and the wife of the critic Frank Warnke, makes her first* NR *appearance with this issue.* Douglas Nichols, *who teaches at the University of Colorado, will publish his first book of poems next spring.*

LONELY, HUNGRY, COLD . . .

Jong Sook lives with her grandmother in a tent. The grandmother peddles soup. She earns enough for one meal a day for herself and Jong Sook. Jong Sook dreams of school but her grandmother cannot afford the small school fees.

Jong Sook's parents fled to South Korea in 1950 seeking freedom from Communist rule in the North. They lived as refugees. After the cease fire, her father worked as a fisherman. In 1957 he was lost at sea. One month later her mother died in childbirth. Jong Sook needs your friendship.

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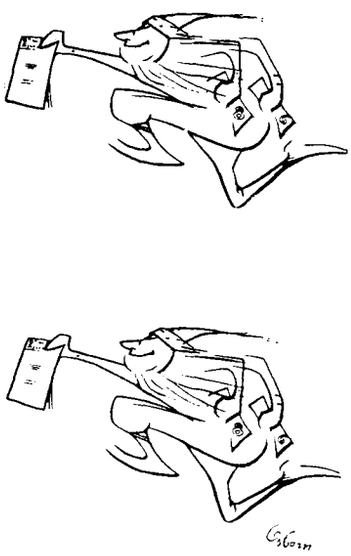
Show and Tell, Concluded

by Frank Getlein

In addition to the outsize art books (most of them collections of pictures) the season has its quota of ordinary-sized books for purposes ranging from diversion to study.

There is even a new series of pocket-size books, *Orbis Pictus* (Hallwag, $2 each). Hard-bound, the slim books contain 19 color plates each, plus commentaries and brief introductions touching on the history, techniques and appreciation. Titles to date are: *The Ravenna Mosaics*, by Anna Maria Cetto; *The Stained Glass at Chartres*, by Alfons Dierick; *The Isenheim Altar*, by Pierre Schmitt; and *Pompeian Wall Paintings*, by Amedeo Maiuri.

Diego Rivera's autobiography, *My Art, My Life* (with Gladys March, Citadel, $6) was dictated to and edited by Mrs. March over the last ten years of the Mexican muralist's life. Rivera reveals a keen appreciation of his prowess in art, sex and politics, and the record seems to be complete on the series of spectacular rows he got into over all three. There is also total recall on people who expressed their admiration and who defended him; included among the latter are Edsel Ford and the late Cardinal Dougherty. The limited reproductions remind us that his Communism did nothing at all for Rivera's art.



There is still time to give The New Republic for Christmas. Fill out and mail the postcard bound inside this issue.

Another art memoir is Peggy Guggenheim's *Confessions of an Art Addict* (Macmillan, $4). Miss Guggenheim, through association, marriages, patronage, collecting and promoting, enjoyed a long friendship with Surrealism in Europe and New York, but, as so often in that field, what must have been the giddy charm of the evening fails to come across on the morning typewriter. Miss Guggenheim feels she's been bilked out of credit and cash for the discovery of Jackson Pollock and, through him, of Abstract Expressionism. Of the movement today, she thinks "it has gone to hell, as a result of the financial attitude."

The impossibility of keeping the bubbles in Surrealism overnight is also evident in *The History of Surrealist Painting* (Grove, $17.50) by Marcel Jean. Whatever point the gestures had was made long ago, and the games, at distances of up to forty years, seem very lugubrious indeed. Nevertheless, the book is an invaluable, if perhaps inevitably dull, record. There are 386 plates, 36 in color, documentation from many sources and eye-witness accounts of art and gesture now gone. On the basis of the record as here revealed, it may well be that Surrealism was more obstacle than liberating force for art in its time. Works of apparently enduring value, such as those by Arp, Ernst, Dali and Miro, don't really need the support of the ideology, and an appalling amount of talented energy was spent creating a new idiom for ads and shop windows.

American Negro Art (New York Graphic, $10) by Cedric Dover is a labor of love and of racial pride. Its chief justification is the number of 19th-Century Negro painters it brings to light who are not usually run into in standard works. On the other hand, the book fails completely to justify its title. To judge from the more than 100 reproductions, there's no such thing as Negro art, but no doubt that revelation itself is part of the book's value. The real point of the book is that throughout our history, and especially in the 20th Century, American Negroes have been part of American painting and sculpture. It may be regretted that more space is not given to outstanding figures, like Horace Pippin and Jacob Lawrence, but the compensation is the large number of contemporary artists who are still not as well known as they should be.

Another somewhat special field is explored in *American Painters in Paris* (Macmillan, $5.95) by Yvon Bizardel. The range is from Benjamin West before the Revolution (ours) to Whistler, Sargent and Cassatt. There's no particular effort at criticism, but an amiable account of our countrymen's careers in M. Bizardel's town, illuminated by a lively sense of politics and aesthetics as they evolved in Paris.

As an old and continually frustrated collector of catalogues of permanent collections, I find particularly welcome *American Art Museums and Galleries* (Harper, $5.95) by Eloise Spaeth. The author has inspected and described the contents of 84 museums around the country and come up with more places worth a delay en route than one would expect. The 180 reproductions reveal the amazing wealth of world art in America, not only in the great museums but in all – or almost all – regions. Although jammed with sheer information, the text is sprightly due to Mrs. Spaeth's running history with commentary on her subject. There is also an informative round up of the top 70 or so New York galleries and another 50 elsewhere.

George Grosz (Arts, Inc., $12.50) with an essay by the artist and an introduction by Ruth Berenson and Norbert Muhlen, contains over 100 black and white reproductions and six color plates. The book was begun by Grosz before his death, apparently in an ef-

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fort to prove that his work since coming to America in 1932 had its own value independently of his more famous satirical drawings of German corruption before, during and after World War I. The book proves his point, less by the masterful drawings of nudes and nature than by the transmutation of his early critical journalism into a vision of man as social victim.

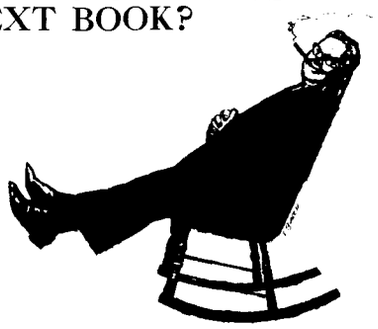
Marcel Brion's *Dürer* (Tudor, $5.95) is a full account of the life and work of the earlier German. Brion is most satisfactory in relating life and work to history, less so, but provocative, in attributing motivation. There are 90 black-and-whites, 59 color plates. These include most of the great prints, the best known paintings and a good selection of Dürer's breathtaking animal and flower studies. Most valuable of all, they include a number of the relatively unknown and completely charming landscapes in water color.

Rembrandt as a Draughtsman (Phaidon, $5.95) by Otto Benesch, is, on the face of it, a work for specialists, but still, what a draughtsman! The 115 reproductions, including four in color, get you a lot closer to the artist than a comparable spread of his paintings in reproduction, because Rembrandt poured himself so fully into drawing, but also because these drawings are so much more reproducable than his paintings. This book, a selection from the author's six volume catalogue raisonné, should find the wider audience the material and the approach deserve. Benesch is an expert guide.

Quite probably the most pleasant all-around companion in art now working is the English critic and Slade Professor at Oxford, Eric Newton. He grinds no axes, he respects the material and he respects the language. *The Arts of Man* is Newton at large. The book consists of his choice of art he likes from all periods, all places and all media. In 174 reproductions, the majority in color except for drawings and sculpture, Newton presents his choices with intelligent, low-pressure, persuasive comments. The grouping is more or less chronological and he kinks the sections together with brief essays on the periods. He never startles, but he consistently informs.

Finished *Enjoy, Enjoy!* ?

WHY WAIT A YEAR FOR HARRY GOLDEN'S NEXT BOOK?



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MOVIES

Double Feature

Two films (in effect) are now being shown jointly under the one title *Exodus*. The first, which runs about an hour and a half, is the story of how six hundred and eleven Jewish refugees are taken from Cyprus to Palestine in 1947. This film is tight, fast, unswerving, does not play obviously for sympathy, and is extraordinarily moving. The second film, which runs two hours, deals with some of the same characters and some new ones in various adventures in Palestine. It is a good professional movie, but not often more than superficially exciting.

Exodus (United Artists)

One film at a time. Part One is, barring a few small flaws, a triumph. Otto Preminger, the director, and Dalton Trumbo, the screenwriter, have excised the vital nucleus of Leon Uris' trumpery best-seller and, with sure skill and a sense of conviction, have transplanted this nucleus into film and implemented it superbly. Excepting that Paul Newman's briefly assumed British accent would have fooled no one and that Gregory Ratoff's brief appearance is egregiously theatrical, Part One is a clean, hard organism with an almost arrogant independence of the audience that is in itself affecting. It does not plead for your tears. It presents a series of incidents almost brusquely, almost as if they are none of your business but you can't be prevented from watching. This combination – veracity and avoidance of ostentatious appeal – makes this film shattering. It is moving merely to remember it.

By means of a ruse, Newman, a Haganah fighter, gets 611 Jews out of a Cyprus detention camp on to a ship in Famagusta harbor in order to run the British blockade of Palestine. The ruse is discovered before they clear the harbor, and British destroyers block the channel. The Jews threaten to dynamite their own ship if they are boarded; then they throw their food over the side and prepare to die of starvation – mothers willingly with their children – rather than return to barbed wire. The hunger strike succeeds; the embarrassed British government finally permits them to proceed to Haifa.

Newman is a golden Sabra, suitably resolved and commanding yet young. Ralph Richardson, the British general, fits every word, every gesture into a fine pattern of soldierly loyalty and decent compassion. Eva Marie Saint, although she lacks presence as an actress (figuratively, you always need to look twice to make sure she's there), conveys the emotional evisceration of the American widow who doesn't consciously want involvement but finds her subsconscious taking over. Hugh Griffith is, as always, graphic – a Cypriot trader whose heart is both with his purse and with the Jews. Peter Lawford is crisp as an orthodox British officer.

In the past Preminger has shown potentialities as a major director. Part One of *Exodus* is his prime work to date. He seems to have plunged hungrily but not greedily into a subject which, at last, brings out his best. It is first-class film-

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making. He has used blinding sunlight and the texture of old stone and raw wood and ancient earth to create his "place"; he has paced the work brilliantly; he has forced his camera to understate. Detention camp, general's garden, stark streets, all bustle into just enough – not too much – life. The very first shot of a line of refugees being loaded on to Army lorries at dockside sets the tone of the film. There are no weeping faces, no winsome tots tugging at their mothers' skirts. There is just a long file of tired, dirty people, carrying everything they own, accustomed to being policed and prodded, simply intent on the business of once more being loaded on to something and shipped off somewhere. That is all; and in it the whole story, from Diaspora to Dachau, is implicit.

The ultimate sane judgment about Jews was uttered by Mark Twain: "The Jews are members of the human race. Worse than that I cannot say of them." With no plea for them as especially noble, Preminger presents a beautiful statement of the fact that they are no worse than others and have been used somewhat worse for 2,000 years and it is high time to stop it. His skillful welding of the British, European, American, Cypriot, and Palestinian elements makes a powerful instrument of contemporary truth.

Part Two of *Exodus* is concerned with differences between the Haganah and the Irgun; the latter's anti-British terrorism; a large-scale prison break; and the Arab war. For the most part it is smoothly done, but its self-conscious momentousness and its contrivances exclude us, make us onlookers rather than participants. Jill Haworth and Sal Mineo are unprepossessing as two Jewish adolescents, Marius Goring is dragged in to do his Nazi bit, John Derek is a joke as a friendly Arab chief, and we are treated to a little corn off the Lee J. Cobb. If Part Two were released alone, it would be a good action spectacle in a novel setting, well above the ordinary. After Part One it is a let-down. Part One could virtually stand by itself and would be better for it. The Technicolor is, for a change, an asset. The Panavision (extra wide screen) and stereophonic sound, which in past films have often seemed superfluous gadgetry, are helpful and appropriate here. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

"THE MARRIAGE OF *Arthur Miller and Marilyn Monroe was so odd a mixture of libido and Liberalism that we have long believed it was invented at an editorial conference of the* New York Post. *Marilyn's biographer, however, says she had always dreamed of mating with someone like Arthur, being herself a girl of searching intellect and cultivated taste. Unfortunately for that solemn thesis, his book belies Marilyn's brainyness, although not necessarily her comic genius (to mention intangible virtues only).*"

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Correspondence

A More Rational Farm Program

Sirs:

The article "A More Rational Farm Program" (December 5) I fear oversimplifies the farm problem.

I am not a farmer but an attorney in a farm village (population 704), having constant contact with farmers, and figuring hundreds of farm income tax returns at the beginning of each year.

This area is generally hilly, has quite a little woods, is fertile south of here and somewhat sandy north of here. The people are almost entirely of German ancestry and many can speak German. Their migration was largely in pursuit of greater independence. The great majority of the farms in this area would fall into your category of marketing less than $10,000 in food annually. These people grow or raise much of their own food. Many don't have telephones and some still use teams of horses in the fields.

The current exodus from farm to city is well known, but due to limited opportunity, many here are not high school graduates. They know no vocation but farming, would find it difficult to work for others (having always been independent) and would rebel at joining a labor union. For practical purposes they are relatively unemployable.

Don't assume that because many are under-educated they are also ignorant. They must plan, manage, take risks, and above all take frugal care of their own farm businesses. Contrast this with the farmer's city cousin in the labor force who leave decision-making up to his employer and negotiation up to his union.

The farmer is a distinct type of individual who likes to be close to the soil and likes "elbow room." He is reflective and philosophical. Chores must be done every day of the year. No weekend boating up-state or two week winter vacation in Florida for him.

Now our society is undergoing a vast transition. It is an era of big business and big labor with the major influx to the big metropolitan areas with their freeways, one-way streets, and concealed radar patrols. Despite his economic plight the farmer remains a resisting force; he is reluctant to move off the land. Is it socially desirable that he, the most individualistic of all Americans, should be encouraged to leave the land and attempt to become part of the more regimented society of the city? Or how about his children? Should he attempt to raise them to adjust themselves to urbane industrialized society? Must the small yield to the large? It is occurring with alarming rapidity in the rest of the business community and we now have "administered prices" on almost everything but farm products. "Administered prices" is really a polite phrase for manipulation of the law of supply and demand. Is that consistent with "free enterprise"?

As I contemplate the farm problem, the economy, education, the significance of the individual, several questions come to mind. How about the tremendous college enrollment? Must these graduates become "organization men" in large corporations or members

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of a government bureaucracy? Must most of the non-college graduates learn a manual trade and become part of the labor bloc? Speaking of blocs, is every individual to be helpless unless he aligns himself with a powerful group? What is the price we will pay for accomplishing efficiency? How much value has the individual apart from being a producer or consumer?

Andrew W. Risser
Fall Creek, Wisconsin

Brustein and Tennessee Williams

Sirs:

I wonder if Mr. Brustein is sincere in the tirade he launched against Tennessee Williams' *Period of Adjustment* (November 28). Mr. Brustein starts out by calling Williams "... a Broadway hack insufficiently schooled in his trade." Not a very pretty compliment for one of our best playwrights. Is it pertinent to read that "... Walter Kerr has already welcomed him back into the community, and Marya Mannes, David Susskind, and the Editors of *Time* will probably soon follow suit."? Brustein's record as a prophet may be deadly accurate but his opinions on the future course of action of the Editors of *Time* do not interest me in the least.

Although I have read Mr. Brustein in the past with profit and pleasure I doubt if the state of the theater is quite as dismal as he would have us believe.

Frank T. Bumpus, MD
Duxbury, Massachusetts

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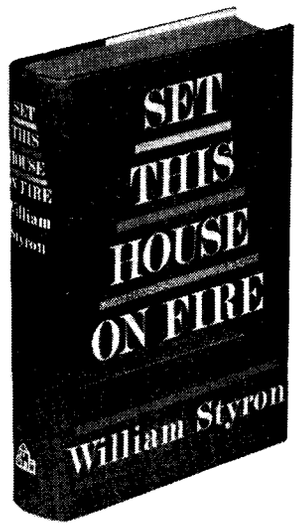

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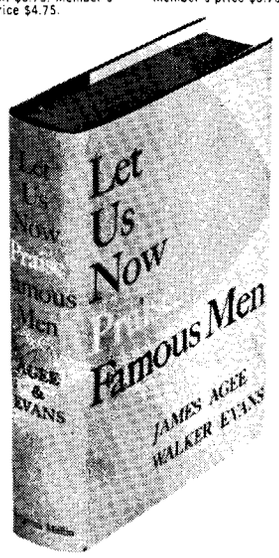

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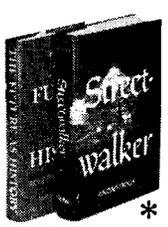

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